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recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat, for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

The old chief had already started, having first made his sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

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ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

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Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [262] would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

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361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 261 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

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574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

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THE PROVISION GROUND

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

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462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

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place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

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did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog.

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash."

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation.

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line.

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us."

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor.

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan.

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship.

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774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his
[795] Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
765 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a
[186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All
[534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

[293] For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *hei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the
[262] ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*.

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle.

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better."

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there.

It was the opening for which we had been waiting.

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself?

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

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115 584 [949] Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we [831] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

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584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

[587]

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krutu, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and hers likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[262]

At night while the villagers danced bandamba, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

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of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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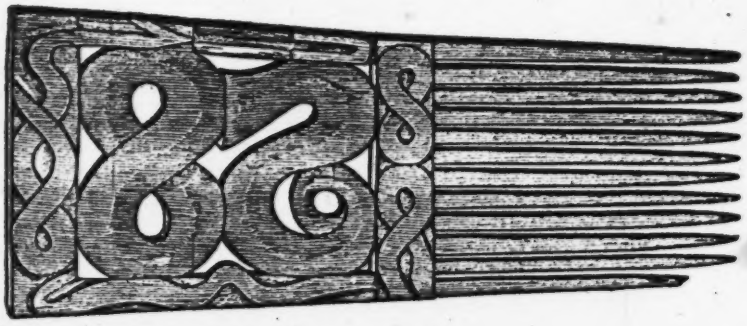
man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had



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Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night. 252 262 132

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their limbs; the dried nuts rattle. 574 534

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

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1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204:- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese,* or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom,* the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo,* the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

224 789 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his [#11] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825 778 262
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off.
● 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt.
[251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

Another staple of their diet is rice, or *ahleesee*. Rice of the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike. Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i.e. make good sweet mouth.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little
184 from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the
[147 Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo
198 as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as
191] *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 The system of food taboos and general culture are the
606 same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the
194] Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is de-
648 scended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

784 262 [424 787] These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual, and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision, called *papa winti*, and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran 776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their 782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom- [778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

● 262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be [241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur- [433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game [263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

• 262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

● [262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/18 cont./

766 787 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con- [123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 [693] A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as [681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 682 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after [262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 [577] The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

● 252 [123] An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because [589] since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/20 cont./
262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/ Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body
757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes.
[824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa gujanens Obl.

755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk.
[756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/1-5/

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

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1. Introduction

When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system pr[illegible] from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is 241 114 [128] being cultivated. The following summary has been put together from the data of my own observations and from information provided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 [184] On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are
● [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.
[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting
[825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.
[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakõeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] [136] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popular. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 262 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).
Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.
This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread.
[244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).

244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety
● [262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).
This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:
[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a [789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks [263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used [407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:
bigi nanasi, a white variety;
indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.
[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.
[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety, [252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./
245 in more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (soetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

249 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

/151 cont./

249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted like pinda.
[252]

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

B /512 cont./
R
137 The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
241 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

B
R
311 Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
504 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
968 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

B
R
433 The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

B
R
262 There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas

B
[241] and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

R
[226] The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

B
R
[231] Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[439] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

B
R
146 Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/8 cont./

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/32 cont./

602 784 428 [163] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

• [262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages, which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

692 /75 cont./
685 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
[224] time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[1735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/163 cont./

764 787 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 767 322 [412] Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number, commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 767 [152] [262] The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce. The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead peron's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equaly to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and • 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble [538] at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [781] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

765 About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the • 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimã take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is [784] [787] easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by [787] the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

752 834 [971] /255 cont./
ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 [262] Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday, [648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] [114] [613] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mānsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumɛ̃nti bui (bracelet of Kumɛ̃nti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/294 cont./

648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When [262] we passed through AloTké village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [829] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de Indi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the